

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 SSM-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-12 /097 W
-----005952 240404Z /72

R 231400Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5995
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
USINT BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION SINAI
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 18496

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EG, GW, IS, IT, UR, US, XF
SUBJ: SYTENKO ON MIDDLE EAST SITUATION

REF: MOSCOW 18101

SUMMARY: SOVIET MFA MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES CHIEF SYTENKO
SPOKE WITH ITALIAN AND GERMAN AMBASSADORS RECENTLY. HE
ESSENTIALLY REPEATED THE SAME LINE THAT HE GAVE TO THE
FRENCH EARLIER THIS MONTH (REFTEL) AND GAVE NO INDICATION
THAT SOVIETS HAVE CHANGED FROM THEIR NEGATIVE VIEW OF
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SADAT'S INITIATIVES, OR THAT THEY HAVE ALTERED THEIR WAIT
AND SEE APPROACH. END SUMMARY.

1. SYTENKO INFORMED THE ITALIANS AND GERMANS THIS WEEK
THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE TO SEE THEM IN RESPONSE TO THEIR
REAUSETS EARLIER THIS MONTH. HE SAW ITALIAN AMBASSADOR
MACCOTTA DEC. 20 AND FRG AMBASSADOR WIECK ON DEC. 22.

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MAIN POINTS WHICH FOR THE MOST PART HE MADE TO BOTH MEN.

-- SYTENKO CLAIMED THAT RECENT EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE BEEN A "MOCKERY" WHICH CAME ABOUT FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS AND WHICH WERE ENCOURAGED BY THE UNITED STATES IF NOT ACTUALLY PREPARED BY THE U.S. IN COORDINATION WITH EGYPT. HE DID NOT BELIEVE U.S. CLAIM THAT IT WAS NOT INFORMED WELL IN ADVANCE OF SADAT'S MOVES.

-- HE CONTENDED THAT NEARLY EVERYTHING WAS READY FOR GENEVA BEFORE SADAT'S ACTIONS AND THAT IT WAS MERELY A MATTER OF A FEW WEEKS AT MOST BEFORE GENEVA WOULD BE CONVOKED. UNFORTUNATELY, HE CLAIMED, JUST AS GENEVA BECAME AN IMMEDIATE POSSIBILITY CERTAIN STATES CHOSE TO PLACE OBSTACLES IN ITS PATH.

-- ON THE BEGIN PROPOSALS SYTENKO SAID THEY REPRESENTED NO REAL CONCESSION OR COMPROMISE SINCE THEY LEFT THE WEST BANK AS IT HAS BEEN, DID NOT CHANGE THE SITUATION IN THE SINAI AND PROPOSED TO MAINTAIN A SHARM EL-SHEIK CORRIDOR. PART OF THE ISRAELI POSITION IS DESIGNED TO DENY THE PLO AND THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE THE RECOGNITION WHICH THEY (THE PALESTINIANS) GAINED AT THE UN. HE REASSERTED SOVIET SUPPORT FOR THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS. TO THE GERMANS HE CLAIMED THAT THE RIGHT BEING DENIED TO THE

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PALESTINIANS WAS THAT OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND WHEN QUESTIONED DID NOT CALL THIS SPECIFICALLY THE RIGHT TO FORM A STATE.

-- SYTENKO INDICATED THAT HE RECOGNIZED SADAT'S SUPPORT AT THE MOMENT WAS SUBSTANTIAL BUT HE ARGUED THAT IT WOULD NOT LAST WHEN THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS PRODUCED NO RESULTS. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS FLUID AND THAT WITH A CHANGE IN CIRCUMSTANCES THE LINE UP OF FRIENDS AND OPPONENTS MAY ALSO CHANGE. TO THE ITALIANS HE ARGUED THAT THE ISRAELIS COULD FIND THEMSELVES IN A VERY DIFFICULT POSITION IF THERE ARE NO RESULTS IN THE PRESENT ROUND OF TALKS. HE SUGGESTED THAT THIS MIGHT LEAD TO ANOTHER MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT AND ULTIMATELY THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL.

-- TO THE FRG HE INDICATED THAT THE PRESENT CAIRO CONFERENCE REPRESENTED A DETOUR AND NOT A BLOC TO A RECONVENING OF THE MEPC. HIS GERMAN INTERLOCUTORS TOOK THIS TO MEAN THAT WHILE THE CAIRO PROCESS MIGHT DELAY GENEVA IT MIGHT NOT NECESSARILY, IN SOVIET EYES, BE AN ENTIRELY NEGATIVE PROCESS. HE, OF COURSE, REASSERTED SOVIET POSITION THAT A COMPRE-

HENSIVE SOLUTION THROUGH THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IS THE ONLY POSSIBLE ANSWER IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND EMPHASIZED TO THE GERMANS THE IMPORTANCE MOSCOW ATTRIBUTES TO ITS ROLE OF GENEVA CO-CHAIRMAN. HE SAID NOTHING TO EITHER ITALIANS OR THE GERMANS WITH RESPECT TO THE WALDHEIM INITIATIVE. (ITALIAN POL COUNS TELLS US THAT IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH MFA COUNSELOR FILEV DEC. 19 HE WAS TOLD THAT THE SOVIETS THUS FAR HAVE NO POSITION ON THE WALDHEIM PROPOSAL.) -- SYTENKO TOOK TWO TACTICS WITH RESPECT TO THE EC-9 SUPPORT OF THE CAIRO PROCESS. WITH THE ITALIANS HE WAS EXTREMELY STERN AND STRONGLY CONDEMNATORY OF THE EC-9 SUPPORT FOR SADAT. THE ITALIANS FELT HE WAS EVEN MORE NEGATIVE TOWARD THE EC-9 THAN TOWARD THE CONFIDENTIAL

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U.S. IN CONTRAST HIS FRG VISITORS SAID HE APPEARED RELATIVELY RELAXED ABOUT THE EC-9 POSITION AND SIMPLY URGED THE FRG TO USE ITS INFLUENCE IN THE EC-9 SO THAT THEY WILL FIRMLY SUPPORT A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT THROUGH THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. TOON

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